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William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World, 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents. Edited with an introduction by Richard Beale Davis. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963. xvi, 399 pp. Map, illustrations, index. $7.50.)

Although his name first appeared on colonial records in 1673, William Fitzhugh of Bedfordshire, England, may have entered Virginia three years earlier, with sufficient funds to acquire considerable acreage. In addition to a dowry, a young wife brought him her share of her father's estate. After a few years' residence in Westmoreland, Fitzhugh secured land bordering on the Potomac River in frontier Stafford County and built a simple wooden dwelling for his wife. Prospering both as a planter and a lawyer, he increased his estate and represented Stafford in the House of Burgesses. When he died in 1701, he left an estate of more than 54,000 acres, forty-three slaves, and many valuable personal items.

William Fitzhugh enjoyed writing letters and fortunately the methodical planter-lawyer made copies of them. Included in this book are 212 of them, the first to Richard Lee on May 15, 1679, and the last to John Pemberton on April 26, 1699. His letters served a utilitarian purpose: most of them were written to merchants who handled his tobacco shipments and to the captains of their ships who transported his product from Virginia to England; others related to his legal practice or official duties; some were personal in nature. But many of his business letters included subjective expressions of his philosophy, his likes and dislikes, and his opinions and beliefs. Frequently his pompous formality, trite maxims, or long involved sentences exasperate the reader. Occasionally the writer emerges with his concerns, piety, sympathy for his white indentured servants, or callous attitude toward Negro slaves or Indians. But his letters are an essential source for the economic, political, and social conditions in Virginia and relations of the colonial with the Englishman.

The Fitzhugh letters were originally published in the first six volumes of *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* from the transcripts replete with errors in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, inaccurate translation of Latin words, and miscopied English phrases. After locating an "original letter-book," owned

by a direct descendant of William Fitzhugh, the numerous discrepancies between the printed letters and those in the letterbook made a new edition necessary. In addition to the corrected Fitzhugh correspondence and speeches and a thirteen-page will and inventory of the colonial Virginian, the editor has added excellent factual and interpretative footnotes and a fifty-three page introduction. The latter places Fitzhugh in his era and describes his life on his tobacco plantation, his work as a planter and a lawyer, and his political activity. The precise style, failure to present biographical information clearly, and the omission of some needed dates detract from the value of this introduction, but overall the book, published in a handsome edition, is an outstanding contribution to colonial literature.

REMBERT W. PATRICK

University of Florida

The South Carolina Regulators. By Richard Maxwell Brown. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963. xi, 230 pp. Notes, appendix, bibliography, index. $5.50.)

In this time of tensions among us in 1964, it is intriguingly interesting to note that irregular violence on a sizeable scale has been a part of American history intermittently since its beginning. Our nation was born in the Revolution, molded by the Civil War, and still struggles for an ultimate destiny. This book about some of our earliest vigilantes is therefore a timely volume.

The movement of the South Carolina Regulators occurred some three years before a similar one took place in North Carolina. The term "Regulator" is said by the author to have been copied from the South Carolina movement which was active for several years prior to 1769 when it was brought to a close by moderation in law-enforcement. This lively, well-researched book by Professor Brown delineates for the first time much of the local color and historic detail which accompanied the Regulators in South Carolina, as well as the exciting and bloody events.

The South Carolina Regulators were ambitious back country property holders, determined to end lawlessness in their region. Their purpose was to discipline offenders and to establish an orderly society. The prior defeat of the Cherokee Indians had

assured the permanence of the white settlement in the back country but had left in its wake a welter of destruction. The settlers had adopted the brutalizing tactics of Indian warfare. There was social disorganization in the crowded communities, corruption in the handling of supplies for the forts, and religious hysteria which culminated in murders. "A jungle morality reigned under the strain of the crisis," and as a result, the economy became infeebled.

To remedy this situation, the Regulators were formed. They had good intentions but soon they were also guilty of excesses. They tried to supervise family life, morals, collecting of debts, labor conditions, and eventually acted like a government, all, however, without authority of the royal officials. Not only did they seize and beat their victims with lash and bayonet but they even put some of them to death, usually by summary hanging. The author points out, however, that these Regulators did not lynch those whom they punished, nor did they choose their victims haphazardly. But when the movement became too arbitrary and too violent, it was abolished by the more moderate elements of the colony.

This volume is a scholarly work containing many facts valuable to the historian and it is at the same time interesting to the lay reader. On the whole it is well written, has excellent source references, and it adds considerably to our knowledge of this little-known movement of our early American history.

NORTH CALLAHAN

New York University

The Papers of John C. Calhoun. Volume II, *1817-1818.* Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill. (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1963, xciv, 513 pp. Introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $10.00.)

The new editor of the Calhoun papers, W. Edwin Hemphill, was confronted with a difficult decision when he was requested to complete the work initiated a number of years ago by the late Professor Robert L. Meriwether. The first volume included the full text of every personal and public document that had been

found for the years from 1801 to 1817, but if publication were continued on this scale, the period covered by the second would be only a single month. The number of letters and other documents concerned with Calhoun as Secretary of War in Monroe's two administrations was such that eighty-eight volumes would be required to reprint them in full, so some other solution had to be found.

Mr. Hemphill, most wisely it seems to me, has decided that what would be most useful is a finding list for all the documents, rather than complete printing of a selected few, and so the present volume is quite different in form and content from the first. The editor has abstracted and identified most of the documents, telling where they may be found, and then with intelligent discrimination has selected a few for complete textual reproduction. He has also written a preface and introduction, which, though occasionally over-wordy and repetitious, give to the reader a sense of time and place, of who the persons are and with what they were concerned.

Regrettably he has felt it necessary to include many high-flown words of praise and also, on occasion, to tell more than he can know. Though his documents are silent as to the reasons why Calhoun was offered or accepted the cabinet post, Mr. Hemphill includes a long discussion of "some considerations that would seem to have prompted Calhoun to decline and others that would have motivated him to accept." Phrases such as ''may well have" and "we can suppose" occur too frequently in the text, but otherwise the editor has done a most useful and valuable job.

THOMAS P. GOVAN

New York University

Ante-Bellum Thomas County, 1825-1861. By William Warren Rogers. Florida State University Studies, No. 39. (Tallahassee: Florida State University, 1963. xvi, 136 pp. Bibliography, appendices, index. $4.50.)

To Florida readers this history of Thomas County, Georgia, from the beginning of settlement in 1825 to the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 is important because with a few

changes in the name of persons and places it might be the history of almost any county in Middle Florida which was being settled at about the same time. Further, the cotton crop of Thomas County was marketed through Tallahassee and St. Marks until Georgia railroads reached the area. The inconvenience of going to Tallahassee for banking services helped to inspire the organization of the first bank in the county.

This county history is also important as a commendable example of the proper relationship of amateur and professional historians. The idea of writing the history of the county originated with the Thomasville chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The Thomas County Historical Society underwrote the project and individuals and organizations helped by providing information and documents. The author brings to it the training and skills of the professional historian. He also provides the non-local sources of data and places the story in a broader than local perspective to produce a well balanced and well documented narrative.

The account covers the life of the community in all of its aspects. Though it is emphasized that all classes of people helped to develop the county, it becomes, like the nearby Middle Florida counties, a typical ante-bellum southern society based upon cotton plantations and slavery. The longest chapter in the book is devoted to a description of plantations and their people. This is inevitable since the planters were the accepted leaders of the community, and any historian soon learns that the yeoman (spelled yoeman in the text) however worthy leaves little record, whereas the gentry are written about if they themselves do not leave any record. This reviewer feels that in local history, however sound and well written it may be, the inclusion of pictures of historic persons, places, and events can enormously enrich the story and increase the popular appeal. They are often omitted because of cost. It seems a misfortune.

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

University of Miami

Negro Slavery in Louisiana. By Joe Gray Taylor. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963. xi, 260 pp. Introduction, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

The informed American citizen cannot but be aware that his nation is going through a massive re-adjustment and re-examination of race relations. This volume is not addressed to the problems of today. It is too honest a work of historical scholarship to attempt such a thing. Nevertheless, it is important for people in this spring of 1964 to know far more than has been known before about the long and tragic history of the Negro in the United States. This book will have an important place in the literature of slavery and of the Negro.

Carefully and thoroughly researched, Professor Taylor's hook goes into the actual condition of the Negro slave in Louisiana. It is descriptive and provocative with no effort at emotional or sensational appeal, although the opportunities are abundant in the material cited. Importantly, there is a genuine effort on the part of the author to present slavery as it must have been experienced by the slave. The reader should recognize the extreme difficulty in this approach by recalling that the conditions of slavery itself prohibited the accumulation of documents, letters, diaries, wills, and other primary sources with which the historian works. Most of the primary and secondary sources are of white origin. Nevertheless, this book is an analysis end description of Negro slavery, not a study of what white people in Louisiana thought about slavery.

This is a well-documented, carefully developed, compact study of an extremely important segment of American history. It should be read by anyone seriously concerned about Negroes, slavery, and the South.

WILLIAM E. HIGHSMITH

Asheville-Biltmore College

Civil War Ironclads: The Dawn of Naval Armor. By Robert MacBride. (Philadelphia and New York: Chilton Books, 1962. xi, 185 pp. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. $7.50.)

The author has brought to bear in this book his talents as a professional commercial artist and designer and as a non-professional writer with love and knowledge of the sea acquired as a gunner's mate, U.S.N., during World War II. Giving a brief ac-

count of the development of ironclad warships during the early and middle 1800's, he ascribes this development to the necessity for finding a defense against the increasing firepower of modem naval ordnance. His method is encyclopedic, by ships and classes of ships in the part relating to the United States Navy, and by naval stations in the part relating to the Confederate Navy. The work is illustrated by line sketches, obviously developed from outline drawings contained in the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* and in the *Annual Reports of the [United States] Secretary of the Navy,* 1861-1865.

Part One begins with a short account of the United States' first experiment with an ironclad warship. The *Stevens Battery,* begun in 1842 as a self-propelled floating battery, was still incomplete in 1861. After the successes of the C.S.S. *Virginia* in 1862 and upon recommendation of a board of officers, plans were drawn for converting the battery into a turreted steam ram. However, by 1874, she was not yet finished, and this costly experiment was then scrapped. The author did not mention what might be regarded as a somewhat redeeming fact that the builders and designers of this naval miscarriage did build and donate to the United States, in 1862, a small and much simpler ironclad, the *Naugatuck,* which saw undistinguished service during the war. The author's analysis of the *Monitor's* design and performance as weapons system concept is very satisfactory. Proceeding from his description and analysis of the *Monitor,* the author decribes and discusses the characteristics and capabilities of several classes of ironclads built by the United States during the war.

In Part One, the emphasis is almost wholly on the design and operational aspects of Northern ironclads, with only as much combat detail as is necessary to illumine their fighting worth or their limitations. Much less space in Part Two is devoted to the naval architecture of Southern ships, but the combat operations of the two navies is described. The author points out that Confederate ironclad construction got underway earlier and in larger volume than in the North; but the insufficiencies of the Southern iron industry permitted the North rapidly to forge ahead. "Compared to the conventional ironclad being built in Europe, and in the North," he says, "there is no question that the Confederate design was superior." The shortage of shipwrights in the South

impelled the adoption of refined techniques to the end that ordinary house carpenters could be employed. Construction and performance of Confederate ironclads might well have equalled their objectives except for industrial handicaps imposed upon the South in trying to maintain their armor plate and marine engine production schedules. Another Confederate weakness lay in the general tendency of naval constructors to underestimate the draft of their ships, thereby limiting their maneuverability in shoal water, often causing critical, even fatal, situations to develop in combat at low tide.

The usefulness of the book, from the historian's point of view, is much diminished by the absence of documentation and the inadequacy of the bibliography. The index contains some slips in page references. The text is quite accurate, although occasional errors were noted. The five ironclad frigates built for the Confederacy in England, Scotland, and France warrant a more extended treatment. While the author has made a very real contribution to the literature an the construction and use of ironclads in the War Between the States, there still remains room for a more definitive treatment of the use and performance of armor an the warships of the 1860's.

WILLIAM M. ROBINSON, JR.

Quincy, Florida

A Diary of Battle: The Personal Journals of Colonel Charles S. Wainwright, 1861-1865. Edited by Allan Nevins. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962. xviii, 549 pp. Introduction, maps, notes, appendix, index. $8.75.)

Charles S. Wainwright had talents and advantages that enabled him to produce a diary of exceptional value to students of Civil War military history. A well-educated Hudson Valley aristocrat who had traveled in Europe, studied artillery operations and gained experience as a militia officer, he served in the Army of the Potomac as Chief of Artillery in the First Corps, and later in the Fifth Corps. He rose from major to brevet brigadier general and participated in much of the hard fighting from Williamsburg to Appomattox. The journal that he methodically kept eventually filled five large notebooks and totaled approximately

530,000 words. Allan Nevins has selected the historically important passages and skillfully formed them into a continuous narrative with concise background summaries where necessary. The result is a remarkably readable and informative commentary an the war.

Two special merits of the diary, as Nevins points out, are its revealing studies of great battles and of Union generals. Wainwright, suggests Nevins, "collected materials and critical points of view" on the battles "as if he intended to write a history of them. After Antietam, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg he inquired for the impressions of other officers . . . and set them down beside his own."

Wainwright's comments on Hooker, Burnside, Meade, and Gouverneur K. Warren are often harsh, emphasizing weak character and bad temper. McClellan he greatly admired as a military organizer and strategist. Grant, he felt, needlessly sacrificed men in frontal assaults on Lee's fortified lines. As for that amateur general, Abraham Lincoln, he was an ungentlemanly "gawk," a disgrace as President, a farce as a strategist. As late as October, 1864, the not always perceptive Wainwright was writing, "there is not a great man living in this country."

HAL BRIDGES

University of Colorado

Federals on the Frontier: The Diary of Benjamin F. McIntyre, 1862-1864. Edited by Nannie M. Tilley. (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1963. xv, 429 pp. Introduction, maps, illustrations, notes, index. $7.50.)

This handsome book, published with assistance from a Ford Foundation grant, reproduces in its entirety the day-by-day diary of a Union soldier in the Nineteenth Iowa Infantry. It is divided into three parts. In the first, Sergeant and later Lieutenant McIntyre recorded his experiences in the Ozarks of Missouri and Arkansas between September, 1862, and June, 1863. The second part covers the next five months when his company operated along the lower Mississippi River. In the third part his regiment joined the forces of General Nathaniel P. Banks, crossed the Gulf of Mexico, and occupied Brownsville, Texas, between No-

vember, 1863, and August, 1864. The diary ends abruptly shortly after McIntyre left Texas although he served around Pascagoula, Mississippi, and Mobile, Alabama, until mustered out in July, 1865.

McIntyre was apparently a keen observer and devoted to accuracy of detail. His spelling leaves much to be desired, but his realistic accounts of battles, civilians, and the everyday life of soldiers are both revealing and interesting. In many places he employs a typically flowery nineteenth century rhetorical style. Rejoicing over the victory at Vicksburg, he exclaimed: "Rebellion has come-unholy hands have been raised to tear from its proud position that emblem of our nationality. But true hearts and brave hands stand ready to sacrifice everything for its maintainance, and yieald fortune, wealth and comfort in its protection." He expresses frank opinions about his superiors and the conduct of the war; his dislike of Schofield and his disgust with Banks are obvious.

The only two engagements of significance included in this account are the Battle of Prairie Grove, Arkansas, in December, 1862, which he describes in graphic detail, and the fall of Vicksburg. The real value of the work to the Civil War scholar and the general reader alike stems from McIntyre's keen observations and trenchant comments about people, places, and events. Much of it reflects the typical impatience of Westerners with Easterners and their management of the war. Particularly interesting are his descriptions of Brownsville and Matamaros and his interpretation of current happenings in Mexico. Three maps and twenty illustrations, primarily from *Harpers' Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Weekly,* are included.

Professor Tilley has done a thorough and meticulous job of editing the diary. Exhaustive footnotes, citing *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers, O. R. A., Battles and Leaders,* and numerous other primary and secondary sources of information, contain explanatory material on persons and operations. Much of the information in the footnotes, it seems to this reviewer, could have been included more effectively in introductory statements to each of the major divisions in the book. Indeed, one wonders if an abridgement of the diary including more editorial comment would have had greater appeal to the average reader. The complete text,

however, contains much valuable information and many insights for the serious student of the Civil War period.

ALLEN J. GOING

University of Houston

Two Roads to Sumter. By William and Bruce Catton. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963. 285 pp. Introduction, index. $5.95.

The Cattons, father and son, have sought a unique frame in which to present their account of the separation of the nation. They start with the pattern of the early lives of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, who were both born in frontier Kentucky less than a year apart, and begin by describing the historic and cultural forces which shaped their attitudes and careers into epitomes of the national dilemma.

The opening chapter on Kentucky as a microcosm of all the peoples, stocks, attitudes, and ambitions which made up the fabric of American life, is superb. But the Kentucky period as a point of common departure for the theme of the book becomes a disappointment, especially since Davis lived there only for the first two years of his life (he returned later as a student), and was in a family in which the presence of slaves was always considered normal and proper, whether in Georgia, Kentucky, or Mississippi. Likewise the attitudes and outlook of the Lincoln family, for whom Kentucky was also a transient experience, owe little to that particular period of residence. Kentucky, therefore, turns out to be a rather insignificant geographical accident in the lives of the two protagonists. The book largely fails in its early promise of sociological and psychological insights in forming the historical narrative, the Lincoln-Davis framework pretty much falls apart, and a decent history of the origins of the Civil War emerges.

In flowing prose and with strikingly felicitous turns of phrase, the Cattons take us through the middle decades of the century. Their portrayal of the advent of industrialism is a *tour de force* in brevity, conciseness, and interpretation. Their discussion of the Southern way of life has presence and balance. They inject an interesting note in explaining the collapse into war as due in part to an overdose of individualism and social irresponsibility

flowing from the imperfectly applied political principles of John Locke.

The account of the retreat and final eclipse of moderation during the 1850's is adequate and rises above the conventional, it seems to me, only in analyzing the elements of the statesman and the politician in Lincoln and in interpreting the doctrine of the Dred Scott decision and popular sovereignty. By this stage of the narrative the Lincoln-Davis frame has lost meaning, the latter individual being replaced logically by Stephen Douglas, with Davis thereafter emerging from the wings only in the last moments as the spokesman for the Southern aristocracy.

Every book on the Civil War must, of course, state what the causes of the war were. The Cattons refuse to put the whole blame on the small group of extremists and demagogues on either side, although they are made to share it. "Blame," they write, ". . . must rest in large measure at the door of men like Jefferson Davis, who stands as the pre-eminent representative of the dominant faction in Southern politics." And of this elite, ". . . their greatest single failure was an inability to understand that what Mt. Vernon and Monticello had been to the nation in 1790, or The Hermitage in 1830, Brierfield [Davis' plantation] could not possibly be in 1860, or ever again." Further, "Their gravest blunder, and in retrospect the least excusable, was the notion that they could participate - even lead - in whipping up the most extreme and uncompromising attitude among their constituents and local party delegations, then restrain these attitudes in time to avert misfortune."

It comes as an anti-climax, therefore, to read near the end of the book: "The most important single explanation for the coming of the Civil War is undoubtedly the simplest one: so few, North or South, had the haziest conception of what sort of war it would be."

The gist of the matter is that Southern leadership did not know what time it was.

FRANKLIN A. DOTY

University of Florida